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V.—A SONNET ASCRIBED TO CHIARO DAVANZATI AND ITS PLACE IN FABLE LITERATURE.

Of the poems ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati, a Florentine of the thirteenth century, one of the most interesting is the following sonnet :

- | | |
|----|--|
| 5 | Di penne di paone e d' altre assai
Vestita la corniglia a corte andau ;
Ma già no lasciava per ciò lo crai
E a riguardo sempre cornigliau. |
| 9 | Gli augelli, che la sguardar, molto splai
Dele lor penne ch' essa li furau ;
Lo furto le ritorna scherne e guai,
Che ciascun di sua penna la spogliau. |
| 12 | Per te lo dico, novo canzonero,
Che t' avesti le penne del Notaro
E vai furando lo detto stranero ;
Si co' gli augei la corniglia spogliaro,
Spoglierati per falso menzonero
Se fosse vivo Jacopo Notaro. |

The text is slightly emended¹ from that of the Cod. Vaticano 3793, as published in the edition of this manuscript : D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Le Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1875-88 ; Vol. IV (1884), No. 682, p. 379. The sonnet is also in the Cod. Vaticano 3214, from which it was published in 1872 by L. Manzoni, *Rime Inedite*, in *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, I, 87, and recently in the complete edition of this manuscript : *Rime Antiche Italiane . . . pub. per cura del dott. Mario Pelaez*, Bologna, 1895, No. 117, p. 102.² The

¹ MS. readings: 2. *vistita cornilglia andari*. 4. *corinigliau*. 5. *auscielli*. 6. *loro*. 8. *ciaschuno pena spoglau*. 12. *colgli ausgielli la cornilglia spogliaro*. 13. *spoglierati*. 14. *notaio*.

² According to Manzoni, *l. c.*, "la lezione del nostro codice è scorrettissima." The variants in the text as published by Pelaez, which differs slightly from that given by Manzoni, are as follows: 2. *vestiti andava*. 3. *ma non lasciava già pero lo trai*. 4. *e cornigliai*. 5. *l augelli ke la riguardaro*. 6. *k esa gli furai*. 7. *li torno ghuai*. 8. *spogliai*. 9. *non vo*. 10. *ketti vesti*. 11. *va*. 12. *siccome gli ucell la nigla*. 13. *spogliereti*. 14. *iacomin*.

first mentioned manuscript I shall call A, the second B (references to the edition of Pelaez). The sonnet was also published in 1889 by L. Biadene, *Morfologia del Sonetto nei Secoli XIII e XIV*, in *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, iv, 148; and in 1897 by E. Monaci, *Crestomazia Italiana dei primi secoli*, fascicolo secondo, p. 309 (text ostensibly following A, but differing from that given by D'Ancona and Comparetti).

Before entering upon the literary questions which this sonnet suggests, I wish to call attention to some of the words in it. In the first place, *corniglia* (A *cornilglia*) is properly not an Italian word at all; I have found it in no dictionary, but it occurs in two other texts,—a *canzone* by this same poet Chiaro,¹ and a North Italian poem which shows distinct traces of Provençal influence.² The word appears to be a regular descendant from *cornicula* (diminutive of *cornix*), which gives in Provençal *cornelha* and *cornilha*, in French *corneille*, in Spanish *corneja*, in Catalan *cornella*, and in Rhaetoromance *cornaigl*; but the Italian word corresponding to these is *cornacchia*, which points to **cornacula*.³ The latter is not found, but the intermediate form *cornacla* occurs in a Venetian text, probably of the thirteenth century.⁴ Corresponding to *cornigliare* in the sonnet is the verb *cornacchiare*, defined by Petrocchi, *Dizionario*, as a synonym of

¹A 246, in Vol. III of the edition cited. Chiaro compares himself to a *cornilglia*, and Guittone d'Arezzo to an *ausingnuolo*.

²Mussafia, *Una canzone tratta del Cod. Barberino XLV-47*, in *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, II (1875), 65-70; republished by Monaci, *Crestomazia Italiana*, 494, "Canzone di Auliver." The line: *Ne i val agur de corf ne de cornigla* evidently refers to the use of ravens and crows in sooth-saying; cf. Phaedrus, III, 18, line 12: *Augurium corvo, laeva cornici omina*. Mussafia gives *cornacchia* as the equivalent of *cornigla*. On the Barberini MS., cf. Monaci, *Da Bologna a Palermo*, in Morandi, *Antologia della Critica Letteraria*, 9a ediz., 1894, p. 228 ff.

³See Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *cornicula*.

⁴*Exemplo de la cornacla com' ela se visti*, a version of the same fable that we have in the sonnet. Published by Ulrich, first in *Romania*, XIII, 47, and then in *Trattati Religiosi e Libro de li Exempti*, Bologna, 1891, second part, No. 36. On this collection of "examples," see *Giornale Storico*, III, 320-2, and xv, 257-72.

gracchiare. The ordinary Italian form is due, then, to a change of suffix, for which analogies are not wanting,—*volpacchio* from *vulpēcula*, and *abbacchio*, a dialect word, from *ovīcula*, which has no regular descendant in Italian.¹ It will be noticed that these words also are the names of animals; and perhaps *gracchia* from *gracula*, the name of a bird belonging to the same family as the *cornacchia*, may have exerted some influence.² In regard to the regular descendants from the Latin, Gröber says: “Nur das Prov. besitzt, neben der *ē*-, eine *i*-Form, die auf *cornīcula* hindeutet.”³ *Corniglia*, however, if a popular formation, would naturally point to *-ī*- (cf. *coniglio* from *cunīculus*⁴), though it might also come from *-ī*- (cf. *artiglio*, Prov. *artelh*, Fr. *orteil*, from *artīculus*⁵). More probably it is simply borrowed from the Prov. *cornilha*, of which it reproduces the pronunciation in Italian orthography. This view is strengthened by the occurrence of the word in

¹See Caix, *Studj di Etimologia italiana e romanza*, Firenze, 1878, No. 127; Gröber in Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, I, 552; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *ovicula*. An explanation for *cornacchia* has been sought in Umbrian *curnaco* (see *Romania*, IV, 509), “doch ohne hinlänglichen Grund” (Meyer-Lübke, *Italianische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 8).

²In regard to such influence in general, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, pp. 273, 289.

³*Op. cit.*, *Archiv*, I, 552. In classic Latin, *cornīcula* is the diminutive of *cornix*, *cornīculum* of *cornu*; see Georges, *Lat.-Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

⁴The Ital. *coniglio*, Old Fr. *connil*, Prov. *conilh*, point to *-ī*-, but Span. *conejo*, Port. *coelho*, to *-ī*-; see Gröber, *op. cit.*, *Archiv*, VI, 384.

⁵See Körting, s. v., and Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 243; on the similar word *vermiglio*, Prov. *vermelh*, from *vermīculus*, see Gröber, *Archiv*, VI, 140. Chiaro uses *artilglio* in A 637. In Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, I, 503, D'Ovidio gives the rule that Lat. *ī* remains “wenn iotaciertes *l* folgt,” and mentions as instances *origlia* (from **auriculat*) and *ventriglio*. An exception to this rule is to be found in *oreglia* from *auricula* (cf. Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 246); this may be due to the analogy of *orecchia*, which is regular (cf. D'Ovidio, p. 502); but of the instances of a similar analogy which D'Ovidio mentions (p. 506), *cavicchia* and *lenticchia* lose their significance when we find that the parallel words in Prov., Fr., etc., point to *cavīcula* and *lentīcula*, which would give *-ī*- in Italian (see Körting, s. v., and Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 543, III, 511); and *ventricchio* instead of *ventrecchio* from *ventrīculus* (by analogy of the regular *ventriglio*) is perhaps semi-learned, cf. *ventriculo*, Fr. *ventricule*.

the *Canzone di Auliver*, which shows other evidences of Provençal influence.¹ The author of our sonnet, while he may have found the word in an Italian text, probably adopted it himself from Provençal. The alternative theory is that it really comes directly from the Latin. In either case, the verb *cornigliare* was doubtless derived from the noun on the analogy of *cornacchiare* and *cornacchia*.

Another peculiar word is *splai* (line 5). According to the sense, it points to *displacet*, but the form is anomalous for Italian; the regular forms are *dispiace* and *spiace*, which might appear as *splace*.² *Plai* from *placet* is regular in Rhaetoromance,³ and *splai* may possibly be an Italian dialect form.⁴ But here also we find the best explanation in Provençal, which has the forms *platz* and *plai* from *placet*, and *desplai* from *displacet*.⁵ Probably our poet, for the sake of the rhyme, adopted the Provençal form, merely using *splai* instead of *desplai* for the negative of *plai*; this he might naturally do, as the Italian has two forms of the verb, *dispiacere* and *spiacere*.

Still another peculiarity is the ending *-au* in the third singular preterite. The regular Tuscan ending for verbs of the first conjugation is *-ò*, coming from *-avit* through *-aut*. The ending *-ao* is found in poets of South Italy, and occasionally in Tuscany. In South Italy *-au* also occurs, but

¹ See notes of Mussafia, *l. c.*

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, pp. 116, 312; Mastrofini, *Teoria e Prospetto de' Verbi*, Milano, 1830, pp. 712-14.

³ Gartner, *Rätoromanische Grammatik*, § 154.

⁴ Cf. *fai*, Meyer-Lübke in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 538; and *piaito* beside the more usual *piato* from *placitum*, see Gröber, in *Archiv*, IV, 439; Thomsen, in *Romania*, IV, 262; Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, 59; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *placitum*.

⁵ Crescini, *Manualetto Provenzale*, Padova, 1894, pp. xxxix, cxxxi, and glossary s. v. *plazer*; Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 610. *Desplai* occurs, e. g., in a poem by Calvo, the Genoese Troubadour, Crescini, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 5^e ed., Berlin, 1892, col. 276, cf. 444.

more rarely;¹ and that it was unfamiliar in Tuscany may be inferred from the blundering changes in MS. B (see readings, above). Biadene² thinks that the strange endings of the rhyme-words in the first eight lines were used with the intention of suggesting the caw (*crai*) of the crow. It is to be noted that the two rhymes (-*ai* and -*au*) differ only in the final vowel, and that in the last six lines the rhymes (-*ero* and -*aro*) are in consonance with each other. The purpose of this arrangement and of the use of the verbal termination -*au* must have been to produce an effect on the ear; doubtless *crai*, one of the regular Italian words for "caw," set the key for the rhymes.³

As to the authorship of the sonnet, there is some doubt. In MS. A it is ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati, while in B it has this heading: *Questo mando maestro francesco a ser bonagiunta dallucha*. This implies, though it does not say definitely, that Francesco wrote the sonnet (cf. the headings of Nos. 69, 71, 124, etc., in B). To a Mastro Francesco di Firenze⁴ are ascribed in A a *canzone* (No. 197) and six sonnets (Nos. 496-8, 500-2), the latter closely following the sonnets of Bonagiunta da Lucca. There are no poems in B ascribed to

¹ See Caix, *Origini della Lingua Poetica Italiana*, Firenze, 1880, pp. 98-9, 228; Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, p. 227. Chiaro Davanzati uses -*ao* (*inamorao*, A 560, Monaci, *Crest.*, 251), and so do Guittone (Caix, *l. c.*) and Guinizelli (Casini, *Rime di Poeti Bol.*, p. 34). In Brunetto Latini -*ao* was changed to -*oe* or -*ò* by Tuscan copyists (see Wiese, in *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, VII, 286).

² *Morfologia del Sonetto*, p. 148.

³ The voice of the crow and other birds of the kind is often mentioned in mediaeval literature; e. g., Rustico Filippi (A 856, Monaci, *Crest.*, 250): *Risembra corbo nel cantare*. There is a proverb which says: *Di crai in crai si pascie la cornacchia* (see Petrocchi, *Dizionario*, s. v. *cra* and *crai*). In Latin the usual word for "caw" is *cras*; cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* [Strassburg, 1473], XVII, cap. lxi: *Corvus avis clamosa nichil aliud sonare novit quam cras cras*. Etienne de Bourbon's *Anecdotes Historiques* [in Latin], ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, p. 19.

⁴ This Francesco is hardly likely to be the same as Francesco Smera di Becchennugi di Firenze, B 180 (called Francesco Ismera in the Cod. Chigiano L. VIII. 305, No. 58: *Propugnatore*, x, 1, p. 312).

Chiario, though one (182, anonymous) is addressed to him. In A our sonnet comes among the *tenzoni*; and the three sonnets preceding it form a *tenzone*, as follows: 679, anon.; 680, the answer by Chiario; 681, anon., with the same rhymes in the first eight lines of each. The *tenzone* is a discussion of the question whether love is painful. Then comes 682, with an entirely different set of rhymes, and having apparently no connection with the preceding, while over 679 is the heading: *Tenzone IIII*, that is, *tenzone* of four sonnets; but, as Gaspari has pointed out,¹ the heading should be: *Tenzone III*. If, however, 682 were really a part of the *tenzone*, it would naturally be by Chiario; and accordingly his name might have been inserted if the sonnet, for some reason put in by itself among the *tenzoni*, had previously been left anonymous. Yet these entirely indecisive considerations should have little weight in favor of B against the greater age and authority of A. Furthermore, the peculiar word *corniglia*, used here and in A 246, speaks for Chiario, for having used it once he might easily have repeated it. This word I have explained as a borrowing from Provençal; and we know that Chiario was acquainted with this language, for one of his poems (A 250) is an unmistakable imitation of a poem by Sordello.²

Yet if we accept the attribution of A, we lose our authority for believing that the sonnet was sent to Bonagiunta da Lucca, for this is stated only in B. It is not difficult, however, to

¹ *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, x, 590.

² This was pointed out by Gaspari, *Scuola Poetica Siciliana*, trad. Friedmann, Livorno, 1882, pp. 39-43. Cf. C. de Lollis, *Vita e Poesie di Sordello di Goito* (*Romanische Bib.*, xi), Halle, 1896, No. 32, and notes on p. 289 f. Since Chiario was certainly familiar with this poem by Sordello, it is perhaps significant to find in it the form *plai*, which I have indicated as the source of the word *splai*. The first line reads: *Bel cavalier me plai, qe per amor*. De Lollis emends: *Bels cavaliers*; but if we accept another emendation which has been suggested (*ibid.*), namely: *Del cavalier*, we get exactly the same construction as in our sonnet: *Gli augelli . . . splai Delle lor penne*. In A 250 Chiario shows that he is capable of using "a crude Provençalism" (cf. Gaspari, *l. c.*).

assume, as some writers¹ do, that Chiaro wrote the sonnet, and that it was sent to Bonagiunta by Francesco, if not by Chiaro himself. At any rate, it is generally agreed that Bonagiunta deserved the accusation of parading in the *penne del Notaro*. The criticism agrees very well with the words that Dante puts into Bonagiunta's mouth:

'O frate, issa veggio,' disse, 'il nodo
Che il Notaro, e Guittone, e me ritenne
Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.
Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,
Che delle nostre certo non avvenne.'²

As in our sonnet, il Notaro, Giacomo da Lentino, is here taken as the foremost representative of the Sicilian school. Of this school Bonagiunta was a distinguished member in the second half of the thirteenth century, and he did not lack admirers.³ Guittone d'Arezzo, a more original and more influential poet of the same period, was looked up to as a master by Guido Guinizelli,⁴ who is in turn called by Dante (*Purg.*, xxvi, 91-135) the father of the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. For his change of style Guinizelli was reproved by Bonagiunta in the sonnet *Voi ch' avete mutata la maniera*, but Guinizelli got the better of the argument with the sonnet which he sent in reply: *Omo ch' è sagio non corre legiero*.⁵ It

¹Casini in *Rivista Critica d. Lett. Ital.*, I (1884), 71, but cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, Bd. II, Abt. 3 (1896), p. 18; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale d. Lett. Ital.*, I, 42; Torraca (see quotation below). In mentioning the sonnet, the following express no opinion as to its authorship: Gaspary, *op. cit.*, 173; Biadene, *l. c.*; Monaci, in his article *Da Bologna a Palermo* (Morandi's *Antologia*, 233).

²*Purg.*, xxiv, 55-60 (Moore's text, Oxford, 1894). Perhaps Dante introduced the colloquial word *issa* to indicate that Bonagiunta did not use the *volgare illustre*; cf. *Vulg. Eloq.*, I, 13.

³Cf. the anonymous poems A 783 (Monaci, *Crest.*, 308) and 781.

⁴See the sonnet *O caro padre mio di vostra laude*, Casini, *Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1881, p. 39.

⁵These two sonnets, A 785 and 786, have often been printed, e. g., by Monaci, *Crest.*, 303 (with variants of several mss.).

has been suggested¹ that in the line

“Volan per aire ausgiei di strane guise”

he was alluding to the criticism in Chiaro's sonnet.

Now what was Chiaro's relation to these various poets? Monaci declares (*Crest.*, 309) that he was a follower and imitator of the Notary even more than Bonagiunta was, and that, therefore, he could hardly have made the criticism contained in our sonnet. This argument leads Monaci to accept the attribution in MS. B; but if it has any force in the case of Chiaro, it has tenfold more in the case of Maestro Francesco, whose commonplace poems contain nothing but what a score of others had said. It is quite true that at one period of his activity Chiaro decked his verse in plumes borrowed from the Provençal and Sicilian poets and from Guittone d'Arezzo; but there is great variety in his work; we find political poems, realistic poems in popular style, attempts at philosophy, and finally indications of the influence of Guinizelli and the *dolce stil nuovo*. He is at his best in poems of a semi-popular style, when he casts loose from the conventionality and the metrical intricacy of the Sicilians, and appears as a poet of the Florentine people. In his own development he exemplifies the emancipation of Italian poetry from the Sicilian school, and the preparation of the way for Dante and his circle.² The writer of our sonnet must have been a man of considerable originality; this Chiaro incontestably was, and there is cer-

¹ By F. Torraca, *La Scuola Poetica Siciliana*, in *Nuova Antologia*, 3 za ser., vol. 54 (1894), p. 471: “Non è una sanguinosa quantunque ben dissimulata allusione all' accusa di Chiaro Davanzati, che il lucchese fosse una *corniglia*, rivestita delle penne del Notaro?”

² When he says (in the *canzone* beginning *Talento agio di dire*, A 235, Monaci, *Crest.*, 254):

Audit' agio nomare
Che 'n gentil core amore
Fa suo porto, etc.,

he is evidently referring to Guinizelli's famous poem, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* (A 106). Compare also A 243, 259, 749, and especially 253.

tainly no ground for saying that he was not in a position to send to any of his brother poets who still clung to the old traditions the accusation of borrowing plumes. If the sonnet is to be taken away from him, then, it must be by an argument much stronger than that which Monaci advances.

Chiario Davanzati is to be regarded, then, as the probable author. Of his life we unfortunately know nothing except that he was a Florentine, that he fought at Montaperti in 1260, and that he died not later than 1280.¹ He was unusually prolific for a poet of that time. We find in MS. A sixty-one *canzoni* and more than a hundred sonnets ascribed to him. Few of these poems were known before their publication in Vols. III–V of the *Antiche Rime Volgari*, and almost none of them occur in other manuscripts.² To this fact is due the slight attention paid to him until recently; he is now recognized as an interesting and important member of the group of poets in Florence immediately before the time of Dante.³ Not all of his poems, fortunately, would be likely to call forth so much comment as I have devoted to this one;

¹ See Novati in *Giornale Storico*, v, 404.

² A 285 and 769 are also in the Cod. Laur. Red. 9 (Nos. 85 and 354), and were printed by Valeriani, *Poeti del Primo secolo*, Firenze, 1816, II, 44; No. 85 also by Casini, *Testi inediti*, Bologna, 1883. Nannucci, *Manuale*, reprints six sonnets from Massi, *Saggio di Rime*, Roma, 1840. A few other poems were published by Trucchi, *Poesie*, Prato, 1840; D'Ancona in *Propugnatore*, VI, 350 ff; Zabban, *Chiario Davanzati, VI sonetti inediti*, Pisa, 1872. Since the publication of A, a number of the poems have been reprinted by D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 73; by Monaci, *Crest.*, fasc. 2, and by others. Bertacchi, *Le Rime di Dante da Maiano*. Bergamo, 1896, p. 74, publishes from two other MSS. two previously unpublished sonnets attributed to Chiario in correspondence with "Dante." To the reasons which Bertacchi gives, p. 73, for believing that the Dante in question is he of Maiano, may be added the further reason that, as Chiario died not later than 1280, there could not well have been any correspondence between him and Dante Alighieri. The first lines of these sonnets were given in *Propugnatore*, XXIII, 2, p. 396.

³ See Casini in *Rivista Critica*, I, 69–78, and in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 3, p. 22; Gaspary, *Scuola Siciliana*, and in *Zeitschr. f. R. P.*, IX, 571; Witte in Böhmer's *Romanische Studien*, I, 114; D'Ancona e Bacci, *l. c.*; Goldschmidt, *Doktrin der Liebe*, Breslau, 1889; Bertacchi, *op. cit.*, p. liv.

but before taking leave of it I wish to consider it in one more aspect,—namely, in its position and significance in the history of Æsopic fables.

We have here, evidently, a version of the fable of the bird in borrowed feathers; yet it is not mentioned in the monograph on this fable by Fuchs (*Die Fabel von der Krähe die sich mit fremden Federn schmückt*, Berlin, 1886), nor, as far as I am aware, in any other work on fables. Without at present going very deeply into the literary history of this fable, I will merely say sufficient to show clearly the position occupied by Chiaro's version. To begin with, Chiaro shows originality in his choice of a subject as well as in his treatment of it; for no other Italian poet of the time gives us a fable in a version similar to this.¹ Yet from occasional references we may infer that fables, besides being gathered in collections, were then, as now, subjects of common knowledge. The reader will hardly need to be reminded that Dante, for example, speaks of fables of Æsop.² The Florentine poet Monte Andrea, a contemporary of Chiaro, very likely has in mind the fable of borrowed feathers when he says (A 283):

Chi è sì preso, ciascun om li pare orbo,
Men cura il disonore che lo corbo.

Curiously enough, this same fable is referred to by two of the Provençal poets. In the poem, *Un sirventes ou motz no falh*, Bertran de Born says:

Baro, Dieus vos salf e vos guart
E vos ajut e vos valha
Eus do que digatz a'n Richart
So quel paus dis a la gralha.³

¹ Unless the poem, *Quando il consiglio degli aupei si tenne*, mentioned below, belong to this period.

²*Inf.*, xxiii, 4; *Conv.*, iv, 30. The not too intelligent comments on these passages in Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 16, 294, show how little the fable literature of the Middle Ages is understood.

³Stimming's second edition, Halle, 1892 (*Romanische Bib.*, viii), No. 2, lines 50–3. Edition of Thomas, Toulouse, 1888, p. 8.

Similarly, Guiraut de Borneil :

Com fes de la gralha paus.¹

We may notice in this connection one more version of the same fable, a curious little poem which begins as follows :

Quando il consiglio degli augei si tenne
Di nicistà convenne
Che ciascun comparisse a tal novella,
E la Cornacchia maliziosa e fella
Pensò mutar gonella,
E da molti altri augei accattò penne,
Et adornossi, e nel consiglio venne. . . .

This was first published in 1685 by Francesco Redi, who states that it is in an old manuscript belonging to him, and that it was written by Dante.² This attribution is rejected by Witte and by Fraticelli,³ partly on aesthetic grounds, and partly because they could not find the poem in Redi's manuscript or in any other. It is, nevertheless, in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, with Dante's name; and in another, anonymous.⁴ Carducci defends the authenticity of *questa piccola ma graziosissima pitturina di genere*,⁵ and it has frequently been granted a place among the works of Dante.⁶

¹ Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1846, I, 197.

² F. Redi, *Bacco in Toscana, con le annotazioni*, Firenze, 1685. The *dittirambo* itself occupies pp. 1-46, followed by the notes, which are paged separately; pp. 99-123 contain a note on *sonetti*, with the poem in question on p. 104. For other editions, see Imbert, *Il Bacco in Toscana di F. Redi*, Città di Castello, 1890, p. 75.

³ Kannegiesser und Witte, *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte*, 2^{te} Aufl., Leipzig, 1842, II, pp. xiii, lxxvii; Fraticelli, *Canzoniere di Dante (Opere Minori, I)*, Firenze, 1873, pp. 274-6.

⁴ See Biadene, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 (note), 55; cf. *Carte di Bilancioni*, in *Propugnatore*, XXII, 1, p. 39.

⁵ *Studi Letterari*, 2^a ed., Livorno, 1880, p. 156 f.

⁶ E. g., *Prose e Rime Liriche di Dante*, Venezia, 1758, IV, 335 (Ballata vii); *Opera di D.*, Venezia, 1772, II, 249; *Opera poetiche di D.*, ed. Buttura, Parigi, 1823, I, 200; *Canzoniere of Dante translated by C. Lyell*, London, 1835, pp. 266-7 (and in later editions); *Raccolta di Favoleggiatori Italiani*, Firenze, 1833, p. 405.

In form it is a *sonetto rinterzato*,¹ but of an irregular variety which is used elsewhere only in a few poems by Antonio Pucci.² The irregularity of form raises suspicions as to the attribution to Dante, but as the *sonetto rinterzato* was not in use after the fourteenth century, the poem would seem to be little later than the time of Dante, if not actually written by him. A later writer, it is true, might have composed the poem in this antique form for the purpose of passing it off more readily as a work of the fourteenth century; but so far as subject-matter and style are concerned, it might have been written then.

To return, where did Chiaro get the subject of his sonnet? It is known that through the Middle Ages the Æsopic fables were current chiefly in versions of the paraphrase of Phaedrus which goes by the name of Romulus.³ In these versions, a bird of some ugly species finds peacock feathers, decks itself in them, and tries to associate with the peacocks; driven away in scorn, it is also repulsed by its own former companions, one

¹ On this form see Biadene, *op. cit.*, 44-61; Casini, *Forme Metriche Ital.*, 2a ed., Firenze, 1890, pp. 41-3; also the older writers, A. da Tempo, *Delle Rime Volgari*, ed. Grion, Bologna, 1869, p. 83 ff.; Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Ritmi Volgari*, ed. Giuliani, Bologna, 1870, p. 17 ff.; F. Redi, *l. c.* According to Biadene, *l. c.*, the MSS do not bear out the distinction between *sonetti doppi* and *rinterzati* made, e. g., in the notes to D'Ancona's edition of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, Pisa, 1872, and in Ercole, *G. Cavalcanti e le sue rime*, Livorno, 1885, p. 337. The second and fourth sonnets of the *Vita Nuova* are *rinterzati* with twenty lines each. *Quando il consiglio* has twenty-four lines thrown by the sense into four equal groups; this grouping, which Biadene classes as degenerate, is of course irregular for any kind of sonnet.

² See Biadene, *op. cit.*, 55. On Pucci, a semi-popular poet of the fourteenth century, see D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 530.

³ See Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, tomes I, II (*Phèdre et ses imitateurs*), 2e éd., Paris, 1893-4; Robert, *Fables Inédites*, Paris, 1825; Oesterley, *Romulus*, Berlin, 1870; Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889; Sudre, *Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, Paris, 1892, pp. 52 ff.; and other works on the history of fables. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, gives an account of this particular fable, but omits to mention some important versions,—those by Stainhöwel and *Uno da Siena*, to speak of only two; what he says, pp. 20-1, on the relation of the version of Phaedrus (I, 3) to the Greek versions is especially worth noticing.

of whom gives it good advice on the subject of false pride. The name of the bird varies; it is the jackdaw (*graculus*) in the Latin versions, but sometimes becomes the raven, the crow, or the jay in other languages. The Troubadours mentioned above follow presumably some Latin version, since in their brief references to the fable they use the word *gralha*; the fragment of a Provençal fable-book published by Pio Rajna has *corp*.¹ This form of the fable is, perhaps, best known in the version of La Fontaine (IV, 9): *Le Geai paré des plumes du Paon*.

Now outside the fable books of the Phaedrus family there are a number of versions distinctly different in character; the *cornicula* which Horace mentions² is not the *graculus* of Phaedrus. These versions are of a type older than Phaedrus, resembling rather the Greek form of the fable. The bird is almost invariably the crow, which makes its display of borrowed feathers before a council or assembly of birds; the peacock, so far from being one of the central figures as in Phaedrus, is usually not even mentioned; the feathers belong to various birds, all of which join to strip the crow when the deceit is discovered. Chiaro's version evidently belongs to this class, for it has elements which are foreign to Phaedrus; the crow (*corniglia* = *cornicula*) is decked in the feathers of the peacock and many other birds, and goes to court. The word *paone* suggests, what is in itself probable, that Chiaro was familiar with one of the Phaedrus versions also. For his purposes of literary satire he did not need to do more than hint at the incidents of the fable, yet he says enough to show distinctly which type he followed, though we are not able to distinguish his immediate source. The poem published by Redi also follows the Greek type; the *crow* comes

¹*Romania*, III, 291-4.

²*Epist.*, I, iii, 18-20:

Ne, si forte repetitum venerit olim
 Grex avium plumas, moveat Cornicula risum
 Furtivis nudata coloribus.

to the *council of birds* decked in the feathers of *many other birds*; and the peacock is not introduced. A number of other mediaeval versions of this type are included by Fuchs in his monograph,—the *Exemplo de la Cornacla* already referred to, the Latin versions of Odo of Cheriton¹ and Nicolaus Pergamenus, two Old French versions first published by Robert² in 1825, one of which is from *Renart le Contrefait*, and a German version in Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth*. Since Fuchs wrote, another Latin version has been made known by the publication of the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry.³ There are, however, several other important versions which Fuchs ought to have known,—in the first place, our two Italian poems; then a very interesting version, somewhat different from the others, in a political speech in the chronicles of Froissart.⁴ From Froissart, if I am not mistaken, the fable was taken by James Howell, who introduces it in his curious work, *Dodona's Grove or the Vocall Forrest*.⁵ I will mention further merely the Hebrew “fables of foxes,” *Mishle Shu'alim*, of Rabbi Berachyah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan, whom Jacobs with plausibility locates in England in the twelfth century;⁶ here

¹To Odo or Eudes of Cheriton and his imitators, Hervieux devotes the entire fourth volume of his *Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1896; he previously included them in Vols. I and II of his first edition, 1883-4; cf. P. Meyer in *Romania*, XIV, 381-97. On the fourth volume of Hervieux, and for information on Odo, see especially Hauréau in *Journal des Savants*, Fév., 1896, p. 111 ff.

²*Fables inédites*, I, 248 ff.; P. Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes*, Paris, 1877, p. 355, also gives the anonymous poem which Robert attributes without reason to Marie de France.

³Edited by T. F. Crane, London, 1890; No. 249, p. 105.

⁴*Œuvres de Froissart*, pub. par K. de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, XI, 254.

⁵*Δενδρολογία*—*Dodona's Grove, or, the Vocall Forrest*. By I. H. Esqr. By T. B. for H. Mosley at the Princes Armes in St Pauls Church-yard, 1640. The fable is on pp. 73-4. Howell's name appears on p. 219. Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII, 109 ff.

⁶See Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop*, I, 168-78. I know two editions of Berachyah; one in Hebrew and Latin: *Parabolæ Vulpium* Rabbi Barachiae Nikdani translatae. . . . M. Hanel, Prægæ, 1661; the other, incomplete, in Hebrew alone (but with title-page also in Russian), Warsaw, 1874. Robert, *op. cit.*,

the fable of borrowed feathers shows no evidence of having been influenced by the Phaedrus type; the raven, ashamed of his blackness, puts off his own feathers, takes a feather from each of the other birds (the peacock not being mentioned), and shows himself at the cross-roads, where the other birds gather around him and strip him. On the other hand, Marie de France, whose fables are related to those of Berachyah, has elements of both the Phaedrus and the Greek type.¹

In anticipation of a more elaborate study of the subject upon which I am engaged, a few words may be said now as to the significance of the facts I have touched upon in the history of fables and of mediaeval literature in general. After the revival of Greek learning in Europe, the Greek versions of our fable of course became familiar. They differ distinctly, as we have seen, from the versions of the fable books which descend from Phaedrus. But even in the Middle Ages as well, when the Greek fables were not directly known, there were current various scattered versions resembling the Greek type. We have, then, indications of two streams of fable literature passing through the Middle Ages; one we may call literary, since it possesses a line of descent which is for the most part clearly distinguishable in one version after another from Phaedrus down; while the other stream is by contrast popular. The versions of our fable here differ considerably, and their mutual relations are hardly to be made out at all; they often occur either by themselves or in collections of "examples" such as were drawn largely from popular sources. We may conclude, then, that they were frequently

mentions another edition, Mantua, 1557. Our fable, *Parabola Corvi & aliarum Avium*, is the twenty-ninth in Hanel's edition, pp. 116-9; in the Warsaw edition it is No. 27.

¹ See Fuchs, *op. cit.*, 32; Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, 165, 169. Marie's bird also is the raven, which, ashamed of its ugliness, puts off its own feathers; but it puts on only peacock feathers, and goes among the peacocks. This is fable 58 in the edition of Roquefort, Paris, 1820; No. 67 in the edition of Warnke, Halle, 1898. Evidently this fable offers no support to Warnke's theory (p. lxxi ff.) that Berachyah copied from Marie.

not copied from one book to another, but written down from oral tradition. It was in this manner that some of the classical fables found their way into the *Roman de Renart*.¹ The fable of borrowed feathers is perhaps the very best illustration of many of these principles, partly because versions occur so frequently, and partly because the form given to it by Phaedrus is so clearly distinguishable from the Greek form.²

While not entirely new, these general deductions will help to show that it is a matter of some importance to find and discuss versions like those by Froissart and Chiaro Davanzati, which, well enough known it is true, have hitherto somehow escaped the attention of writers on fable literature. A newly-found version or reference belonging to what I have called the Greek or popular type means more, too, than an addition to the already long list of those that follow Phaedrus.

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¹See Reissenberger, *Reinhart Fuchs*, Halle, 1886, pp. 1-14; Sudre, *Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, pp. 1-19, 39-61. Our fable occurs, as mentioned above, in *Renart le Contrefait*; cf. Fuchs, p. 16.

²The fable of the Lion's Share offers interesting points of similarity; it also occurs in two versions, both going back to the Greek, but one through Phaedrus and the other not; see Górski, *Die Fabel vom Löwenantheil*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 5-11, 52 ff. In regard to the Fox and the Raven, a somewhat different conclusion is reached by Ewert,—“Die Fabeln des Phaedrus kamen auf doppeltem Wege zur Kenntniss des Mittelalters, durch schriftliche Aufzeichnungen und durch mündliche Tradition” (*Die Fabel der Rabe und der Fuchs*, Berlin, 1892, p. 19). Fuchs, *op. cit.*, draws from his material only the most obvious conclusions. The existence of two separate types of the fable of borrowed feathers had already been pointed out, e. g., in *Romania*, III, 292-4.